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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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■ **What goes on behind the educational color bar in Virginia**

Virginia Schools: A Study in Frustration

By Marvin Caplan

DEPEND on the South to hold to an old tradition. For more than half a century "separate but equal" has been its ringing answer to any question of how white and Negro people ought to live together. But separating whites and Negroes has only deepened the hatreds on both sides. And the tragic history of southern race-relations is full of the bitter antithesis of Negroes struggling for equality and whites struggling to keep it from them.

If, for many southerners, this is no argument against the maintenance of the policy, the cost (the simple dollars and cents of building duplicate schools and hospitals and bus-station waiting rooms) might be calculated to wear down southern resolution.

Southern stalwarts falter but regroup themselves. Southern white lawyers, educators, and politicians now talk in terms of "separate but substantially equal" facilities for white and Negro citizens. Beyond that they do not mean to budge.

Today one of the clearest battlefields upon which the fate of the doctrine is being decided is the southern public school. For southern Negroes have grown tired of having the worst schools in an area notorious for its bad schools. They are demanding for their children an education at least the equal of that given white children.

In Virginia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Georgia, and Arkansas, Negro parents have begun to sue for decent schools. And all of these suits make it plain that while white school boards and superintendents have been careful to keep the schools separate, they have been so little concerned about equality that Negro schools customarily lag twenty to twenty-five years behind the white ones.

Suddenly, "separate but equal" has become a trap. Alarmed white southerners find that both the laws of this country and the laws of their

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MARVIN CAPLAN *is a member of the civil-rights committee of the Richmond, Va., branch NAACP.*

own states agree with the plaintiffs: for the "equal" part of the doctrine is quite as important as the "separate." An even more terrifying legal possibility exists. The courts could rule, with Chief Justice Hughes' decision in the Gaines case as precedent, that "equal" comes first and that laws separating the races are only admissible where both groups start off with equal privileges. As a result, one of the great stirs in the South these days is the rush of southern school officials to bring their Negro schools up to par with the white schools of the community before their theories can be tested in the federal courts.

SUITS ASTONISHED

It all seems to have happened so quickly that white communities still greet these suits with astonishment. "They were shocked when we brought our suit," said a Negro attorney in Durham, N. C. "They thought we were such good friends." To the white southerner, who has always told the rest of the country that "we know how to get along with our Negroes," it is bewildering to discover that so many of his colored friends have been harboring bitter grievances.

Still the old tradition is cherished. If you examine the school suits in Virginia, where such suits were first undertaken and where they have had the most notable successes, you begin to appreciate the dogged, self-consuming attachment too many white southerners have to their split, two-colored world.

Most white Virginians find it hard to believe that Negroes in their community would undertake a court action, unless somebody coaxed them into it.

"It's that NAACP," a county school secretary said, with a rural southerner's scandalized horror of "outside influences." "They come down here into the county and stir the Negroes up. Tell them: 'See what the white folks have in their schools? You ought to have that in your school, too.' "

Actually the NAACP stirs up Negro communities the way a handy baseball bat incites an angry man. Southern Negroes have long been conscious of the cast-off nature of their schools. What the NAACP has done, through its local chapters and through its legal staff, has been to provide its members with a weapon that they can use to fight for their children's rights.

WHITE SCHOOL OFFICIALS

If anything arouses a Negro parent it is his daily experiences with white school officials. If he lives in Lynchburg, Va., for instance, he knows that until the NAACP announced its equalization suit, the school board was planning a new $4 million white high school, whose landscaping alone, at $300,000, would cost more than the combined value of all the colored schools in the city. If he lives in Pulaski county, he realizes that though he may live in the very shadow of a white high-school, his child cannot attend it but must, instead, travel 60 miles a day going to and from an inferior Negro school in the neighboring county. Or if he lives in a county that provides Negro secondary education in a "Training School," the

chances are that his child will be unable to prepare for either an academic or a commercial career. By the decision of white school officials, an NAACP attorneys says, training schools have two simple purposes: "To train the boys in agriculture, so they can work on the white man's farm; and to teach the girls home economics, so they can drudge in the white folks' kitchens."

PLAINTIFFS AVAILABLE

When Negro parents find that delegations and letters to their school authorities bring them no redress, they are ready for something more drastic. At a mass meeting of their NAACP branch or PTA (the Virginia NAACP does not require that one of its branches start proceedings) they vote to have someone come down to see if they have the basis for a suit. By the time the NAACP investigators and members of the NAACP legal staff arrive, the community has thoroughly bestirred itself.

There is never a lack of children and parents to act as plaintiffs.

The first survey of the white and Negro schools in an area is conducted by W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the state conference of the NAACP, and some member of the Richmond law firm of Hill, Martin and Robinson. The three lawyers have handled or have associated themselves with all the school suits brought in Virginia. They have assisted in suits in Georgia and the Carolinas and have had more experience with school-equalization cases than any other lawyers in the South.

Once this first examination shows in what respects the Negro schools are inferior, formal petition is made to the local school board, asking it to stop discriminating. While the school board studies the petition, and either refuses to act or insists it cannot, the survey of the schools goes on in increasing detail.

Although all the schools in a division may figure in the suit, the case usually centers around the high schools. The differences there are generally more numerous and dramatic. Educational experts from nearby Negro colleges are called in to help compare the schools. For the suits are largely based upon such comparisons.

When it becomes clear that a board will not act, the suit is filed. Briefs lean heavily upon the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to all people by the 14th Amendment and by federal statute; the briefs also include mention of similar guarantees contained in the laws of Virginia.

SEGREGATION INVALID

Hill, Martin and Robinson go a step beyond insisting upon equal facilities. They say that "racial segregation in the schools is invalid where opportunities and facilities afforded Negroes are unequal."

"But so far," Robinson explains, "no contention has been made in a Virginia case that segregation is invalid even where equality is afforded. That will come later." For while segregation is nowhere defended in these cases and the validity of separate schools is not admitted, segregation is not attacked head-on.

To argue that "segregation in itself is discrimination" would bring the constitutionality of Virginia's laws into question and shake a southern community to the very roots of its prejudices.

Of course, NAACP leaders point out, the day may come when the suits will make operation of segregated schools so costly and complicated that southern communities will not be able to afford them. Robinson can forsee a day when segregation itself will be independently attacked. But meanwhile it is simpler, and the relief of the situation comes more quickly, when the lawyers insist upon the immediate satisfaction of rights already guaranteed by law and prepare the foundation for an all-out attack upon segregation in the near future.

PROOF DIFFICULT

But even arguing within existing laws, it is not always easy to prove inequality. It might seem a simple matter to a person driving around Virginia to say when a Negro school is inferior to a white one. Usually a glance is sufficient. Once you enter court, though, and begin to debate what constitutes "equal facilities" the testimony of the senses may not be enough.

A good example of this is the Arlington county school case. (See "Arlington Arguments," July 1950, *Crisis*).

In Arlington county, across the Potomac from Washington, about 300 Negro students attend the Hoffman-Boston school, an educational catch-all with a range of grades from 1 to 12.

In a recent publication, the Virginia State Board of Education has estimated that it takes a school with a student body of at least 600 to make the offering of a varied program feasible. From this observation alone it would appear that the 48 senior-high students at the Hoffman-Boston school could not hope to get as good an education as the one afforded the 1,837 white students who attend the nearby Washington & Lee high school.

When the suit began, Hoffman-Boston seemed unequal from every point of view. Everything and everyone inside the school seemed to be doing double-duty. The fact that Hoffman-Boston high-school students could not get at least thirty-seven courses offered at Washington & Lee; and the fact that their school was unaccredited by either state or regional accreditation bodies also seemed to be serious discrimination against the students.

Yet Attorney Lawrence Douglas, defending the Arlington county schools against the complaints of Negro parents and pupils, argued that contrary to what the plaintiffs charged, a comparison of the schools showed many advantages on Hoffman-Boston's side. Every specific act of discrimination was met with the sophistical argument that it was in reality an advantage. Of the many adduced only one need be mentioned.

SIMPLE CALISTHENICS

If the children of Hoffman-Boston could do little more than simple calisthenics in their gymnasium-auditorium, at least all the students had a chance to exercise. If they had no

real outside playground, they did have a fine view of the Army-Navy golf course.

In conclusion, the defense said that if Hoffman-Boston did suffer any inferiorities they were due to its smallness and not to the color of its students. Dr. Howard A. Dawson, director of rural education for the National Educational Association, and a witness for the defense, concurred in this when he took the stand. He said that while Hoffman-Boston was a small school because of the Virginia segregation laws, size, and size alone, determined its curriculum. It was economically impractical to teach certain courses in so small a school. "That is not discrimination," he sagely remarked. "It is an incident of classification.

DECISION EXCEPTIONAL

Douglas won the case. Judge Albert V. Bryan, of the U. S. district court, ruled that there was no discrimination because of color and that the schools were substantially equal in their offerings.

The case is now being appealed to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

Comforting as this decision may have been to worried white educators, it is an exceptional one. Except for Arlington, the NAACP has won every equalization suit it has brought in court, although the number of completed cases is small.

But where suits were won colored schools have been so markedly improved that the NAACP state office has had more investigation requests than it can handle. Ten cases are at present in petition and more than 100 are in various stages of investigation. Brief as the history of these cases may be, it contains two notable court decisions and many stories of school officials driven by panic into subterfuge.

Of the two court decisions, the one that has received the most widespread attention is the final one in the Gloucester case. In this case, District Court Judge Sterling Hutcheson, who has presided in three of the suits and has ruled against the school officials each time, ruled that Gloucester county was discriminating against its Negro children. He handed down his decision in April, 1948. As it became increasingly clear to NACP attorneys that the county was making almost no attempt to improve conditions in the Gloucester County Training School, the board members were brought back into court. On January 13, 1949, Judge Hutcheson found the division superintendent and three board members in contempt of court, and on May 4 he fined each of them $250.

The Danville *Bee* for January 17, 1949, observed editorially:

> The decision is of immense importance. It is the sort of thing, which if carried out to its logical conclusion, might find nearly all the Virginia jails choked with its school boards and superintendents, because it is well understood that nowhere in Virginia are colored school facilities quite up to the standards of the white schools, nor could the situation be swiftly remedied.

Although Robinson believes that this was the first time a federal court ruled against school officials so decisively in a case of this sort, he feels that the decision in the Pulaski county case may be more far-reaching in its effects upon Virginia's schools.

Pulaski county has no Negro high

school. It has never felt it needed one, since the county contains little more than 100 Negro students of high-school age. So Pulaski has been sending its Negro students on a long bus journey to Christiansburg Industrial Institute in adjoining Montgomery county.

FACILITIES INFERIOR

The Christiansburg school was begun by the Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia in the best northern tradition of helping Negro freemen. It is presently sponsored by Pulaski and Montgomery counties and by the City of Radford, all of which send their Negro students there. The school's facilities are plainly inferior to the facilities at the three white high schools in Pulaski county.

Yet they were not found so when the suit was first heard in the U. S. district court before Judge A. W. Barksdale. But circuit court Judge Armistead M. Dobie, to whose court the case was appealed, ruled that in "breadth of curriculum," in gymnasium facilities, in summer school, and extra-curricular activities and its library, Christiansburg was inferior. And the sixty miles a day that many of the Negro students had to travel by bus was, in Judge Dobie's opinion, an obvious hardship. It gave the children "less time for study, recreation and play."

It is this decision that may yet prove a headache for southern educators. For Christiansburg Industrial Institute is a regional high school. And recognizing the inefficiency of small schools, the Virginia State Board of Education, whose relationship to the local school administrations is largely advisory, has been encouraging consolidated regional schools. The section of Judge Dobie's judgment which rules out long bus rides for a particular group of children was a decision Judge Barksdale hesitated to make because he felt it would be "the death-knell of consolidated schools." And it may be the knell for segregated primary or secondary consolidated schools.

As a southern community dedicated to the principle of separate but equal schools, Pulaski county is left with several choices of action, all of them forbidding. First, the Pulaski school officials can try to improve Christiansburg until it is so markedly superior to the white schools in the county that Negro parents will not object to the inconvenience of a long bus journey for their children. But the plaintiffs have made it clear that they are dead set against this plan. So Pulaski can either scrap its three white high schools and build a single regional high for white students that will be as difficult to reach as Christiansburg is for Negroes; an expensive move and one sure to enrage white parents.

HORNS OF DILEMMA

Or it can build a Negro high school for the few students it now sends into Montgomery county. But this school, of course, would have to be the equal of the white high schools. And the loss of Pulaski's support to Christiansburg would probably lower the quality of education in that school even more, placing Montgomery county and the City of Radford under threat of suits.

No one in Pulaski has yet been able to figure out a solution to this dilemma. Meanwhile, a decision of the federal district court of Virginia on November 14 "enjoins" Pulaski school officials from denying Negro children "substantial equality."

SPIRITS LOW

Spirits among Virginia educators these days are understandably low. For what makes the decisions frightening is the fact that they are being handed down by federal courts and flouting them brings you face to face with the awful power of the federal government.

"We always go to the federal courts," Martin A. Martin declares exuberantly. "Because state judges are appointed by the General Assembly for eight years, and you can't buck the Byrd machine in Virginia."

But schools officials are in no position to appreciate these reasons. They only know that they want to keep clear of the federal courts, and some of the dodges they have used in order to do so have been conspicuously bizarre.

In King George county, for instance, one of the first counties to face a suit, the school officials were threatened by a contempt charge on the grounds that they had not equalized the schools as the court had ordered. Without a warning word to anyone, the school board dropped five courses (chemistry, physics, biology, geometry, and Algebra II) from the white high-school curriculum in order to bring its course of study down to the level of the one offered in the Negro school. A bitter cry arose from white parents: many children were now unable to complete their college preparations.

The King George county high-school PTA called a meeting to protest this curtailment of subjects. A. W. Walker, a board member, told the parents that they ought to accept the change as a piece of inevitable misfortune. "You can't do anything about sickness; you can't do anything about death; and this is almost on an equal plane with that."

Luckily for the children of King George, their parents did not share Mr. Walker's strange fatalism. Upon their heated insistence the courses were eventually restored. The case was settled before the federal axe could fall upon the King George county school board. Although it is the fourth poorest county in Virginia, it floated a $150,000 bond issue and built the new Ralph J. Bunche high school for Negroes, a fine, modern-looking structure whose inadequate facilities match, almost exactly, the inadequate facilities of the King George high school.

GOAD OF FEAR

This is one example of how school officials act under the goad of fear. There are others. Stories of the attempt to accredit a Negro high school in a single day; of outspoken Negro teachers and principals who were fired or downgraded, or intimidated; of a Negro community whose members were asked to sign petitions repudiating their affiliations with the NAACP; of white school-board officials who resigned in disgust and frustration.

The suits have had some startling

(*Continued on page* 61)

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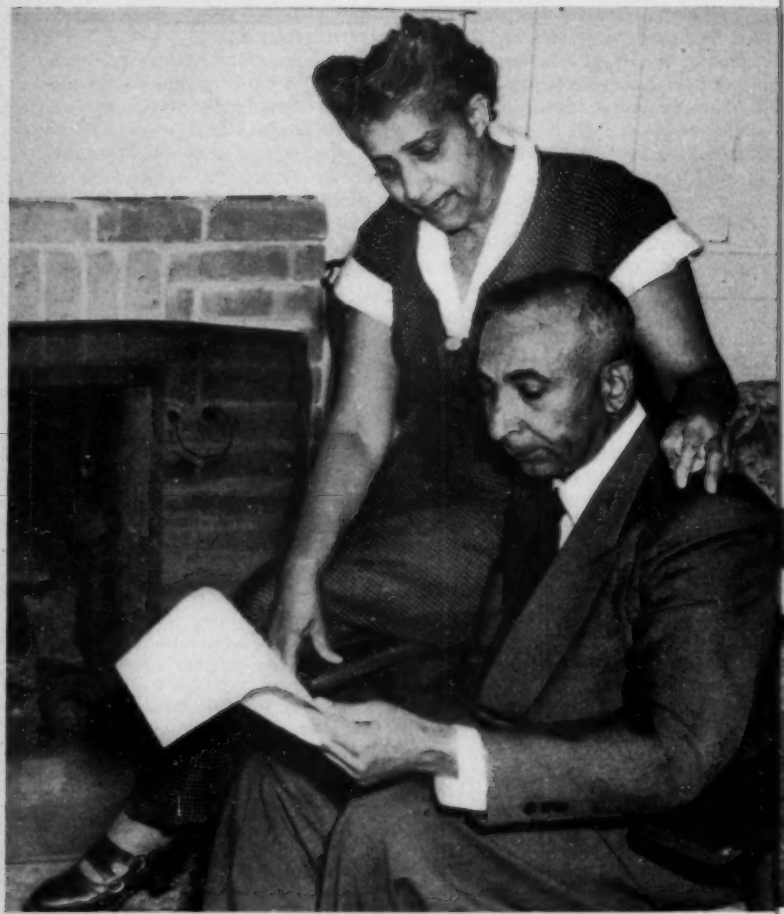

LEADS WHITE CONGREGATION—*The Rev. Roland T. Heacock reads the letter, with Mrs. Heacock, from parishioners of the Staffordville Congregational church, Staffordville, Conn., asking him to become their pastor. Rev. Heacock came out of retirement to accept this post.*

Acme

THIS IS THE STAFFORDVILLE *Congregational church where the Rev. Roland T. Heacock, 56-year-old Negro minister, began his duties as pastor on December 3, 1950. Rev. Heacock, educated at Yale, was a chaplain in World War II.*

■ A sketch of Congresswoman Douglas's secretary

Juanita Terry: Congressional Secretary

By Leon Furgatch

ON a bleak day in December 1947, Los Angeles born and educated Juanita Terry stepped off a train in Washington, D. C., a proud but apprehensive young woman. This was Miss Terry's first trip to Capital Hill, and she held the honor of being the first Negro woman in history to be employed as a secretary to a white congressional representative.

But why had the California representative chosen a Negro secretary in the first place? Surely not to heap honors upon an individual? Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (who was defeated in the last November elections by Congressman Richard Nixon) felt that since she represented the 14th congressional district, heavily populated by minority groups, that they should have representation on her staff.

During her first term in office Mrs. Douglas gave up her plan because people advised her that it would be taken as a purely political move and the peculiar segregation situation in Washington might create problems.

REPEATED WARNINGS

However, in 1947, the Congresswoman disregarded the repeated warnings. But the problem was to find the right person. Several prospects were interviewed, but none found satisfactory. Mrs. Douglas finally got her secretary when Florence Reynolds of the congresswoman's Los Angeles office became impressed with Miss Terry's work for the Bureau of Internal Revenue in the same federal building.

Juanita was hired and sent to Washington to join two other secretaries in the office.

As a result of Mrs. Douglas' deed, a number of white congressmen and senators have followed her example and hired Negro secretaries.

And today, any person who happens to step into the Douglas office on the first floor of the Old House Office Building can find this quiet, unassuming girl either filing cards, taking care of Mrs. Douglas' private

LEON FURGATCH *lives in Los Angeles, California.*

Furgatch

JUANITA TERRY

correspondence, or listening to the troubles of a fellow Californian.

Going back to those first few days in Washington, Miss Terry admits she was a bit worried about the treatment she would receive. She had heard that the city was not hospitable to Negroes. But to her surprise, embarrassing situations seldom came up.

OFFICE STAFF KIND

Juanita attributes this lack of trouble to the kindness of Mrs. Douglas' office staff and two Negro secretaries, Christine Davis and Louise Dargans, who had done much to break down barriers before she arrived.

"These two girls paved the way for me," Juanita acknowledges gratefully. "They showed me the ropes and taught me how to avoid the pitfalls. They told me where I could and couldn't go as a resident of Washington."

"DOUBLE TAKES"

During those first few weeks in the Capital, Juanita seldom saw the prejudice which she had heard so much about. She does remember, though, that she noticed some people doing "double takes" after they glanced into the office. And others who came into the office would hesitate before stating their problems to her.

"Our office would also receive anonymous telephone calls saying that Mrs. Douglas should be ashamed of herself for hiring a Negro."

Despite the courtesy accorded her by all Capitol employees, Miss Terry occasionally runs into some problems. Although she has eaten in the Senate dining room, she finds she is not yet able to gain admittance to the dining room for House employees.

Juanita looks to her boss for the settlement of this problem.

"I don't think Mrs. Douglas knows this yet, but I believe she'll start some fireworks as soon as she finds out," Juanita says with a confident smile.

When asked to evaluate Mrs. Douglas, Miss Terry answers with the same intense feeling voiced by countless other admirers of the fight-

ing congresswoman from California.

"The thing that impresses everybody who meets her is the utter sincerity of her convictions. She believes in the equality of man. She believes that if you are going to have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that the most important part of that is government by the people. And if people don't participate in government they have only themselves to blame for its failure to operate in their interest.

"Although I have been employed by politicians in the past, it has only been since I began work for Helen that I really became interested in politics, and I see now that politics affects everything in our lives.

"I believe, as Mrs. Douglas believes, that more people should become active in politics, especially Negroes. I feel that politics, and the law derived through it, is one of the most important weapons for leveling barriers hindering our rights as human beings."

HERBERT LEWIS, JR., *teacher of science and English in the Linden junior high school, South Bend, Ind.*

RUBY JARRETT, *member of pupil-personnel staff in the South Bend, Ind., public schools.*

Acme

SEE THINGS ALIKE—*August Seibert (left), of Kentucky, Nell Cochrane, Northampton, Mass., first Negro to be elected president of the student council at Smith college, and Lt. Oscar Pusey (right), Bronx, N. Y., chat together at the Hunter college symposium, "America from my Vantage Point." Both army officers were wounded in Korea and flown from Walter Reed Hospital to New York for the symposium, sponsored by the United Negro College Fund.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That the Argentine Tango originated among the Negroes of the Rio de la Plata? The Argentinean Vicente Rossi traces the history of the dance in his book, *Negro Achievements* (1926).

Good News

Two recent honors have come to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche in addition to the Nobel peace prize. From the Legion of Guardsmen he received the 1950 "Outstanding American" award for "his humanitarian efforts in promoting peace." The award was presented to him by Abe Berliner of Glen Rock, N. J. And in December he was elected, along with Pearl S. Buck and Mme. Vijaya Pandit, to the advisory board of Roosevelt College. Meanwhile the 1950 issue of the French magazine *Caliban* devoted a page to Dr. Bunche's career.

★ ★ ★

Arthur Dorrington of Canada is the first Negro to enter organized hockey in the United States. He was signed up by the Atlantic Seagulls of the Eastern Amateur League last November. Although there are three other Negroes in organized hockey, they all play in Canadian leagues.

★ ★ ★

Bill Lucas of Manhattan was one of the first five in the forty-second annual Intercollegiate AAAA varsity cross-country championship held at Van Cortland Park, New York City.

★ ★ ★

Richard Tucker, eleven, and Rachel Harris, thirteen, were winners in the 1950 Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund essay contest for the best entry from a youngster who went to a Fresh Air Camp last summer. Tucker, of Jamaica, N. Y., who went to Tunkhannock, Pa., took first prize for entries from youngsters who went to friendly towns. Rachel Harris, of the Bronx, N. Y., won second prize for essays entered in the camp division.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Roland T. Heacock was the unanimous choice of the church officers of the Staffordville Congregational Church, Stafford, Conn., to succeed the Rev. Arthur Childs, who recently resigned to take another pastorate. The Rev. Heacock is a Negro with a white congregation.

★ ★ ★

Scovel Richardson, dean of the Lincoln University (Mo.) school of law, has been admitted to membership in the American Bar Association. Attorney Richardson is the first Negro of Missouri to become a member of the ABA.

★ ★ ★

The talented composer Howard Swanson is the subject of a laudatory sketch by Carter Harman in the December 3 issue of *The New York Times*.

■ **This interracial art project has struck a blow at local discrimination**

Princeton Group Arts

FIVE years ago, before discrimination was outlawed by the new state constitution in the public schools of New Jersey, a small group of Princeton townspeople founded Princeton Group Arts. Conceived of simply as an art project for the whole town, it inevitably struck a blow at local discrimination.

In a small studio on Spring Street children and adults, regardless of color or creed, could get professional instruction in the arts for a small fee. There were classes in drawing and painting, ceramics, sculpture, singing, dancing, and dramatics. The plan was simple enough. But it was nothing short of revolutionary in a university town which, though just fifty miles from New York, still clings to the economic and social patterns of the South. A town where, even today, Negroes find jobs only as domestic servants, janitors, busboys and waiters; where Negro housing is overcrowded and concentrated, ghetto fashion, in one small section of town.

So it was perhaps only natural that the idea of Negro and white children playing and working together in Group Arts was viewed with alarm by many of the townspeople. It was whispered that the founders were Communists and troublemakers. Both charges were false. Foremost among the founders were Richard Stoddard, a Johnson and Johnson executive, and his wife; Minot C. Morgan, Jr., then Democratic mayor of Princeton; Dr. J. Kendall Wallis, a psychiatrist then attached to the university; and Mrs. Sadie Dickerson, a teacher. There were also a lawyer, a chemist, a public opinion researcher and their wives.

Art, these Princetonians felt, was one field in which prejudice against race, creed, or color had never held much sway. By taking adavantage of this fact they hoped to give their town a much-needed low priced art program and, at the same time, to help break down its stubborn tradition of discrimination. Supporters at the start of the program were few but enthusiastic. Yet today, in its fifth year of operation, Princeton Group Arts is a going concern, widely accepted, no longer suspect.

Of course other steps have been taken since to better Princeton's social picture. With the integration of the public schools came interracial teaching staffs. The local YWCA,

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The author of this article, a Princeton resident who is one of the founders of Group Arts, prefers to remain anonymous.

formerly split into white and Negro groups, was merged; and this year, for the first time, a Negro woman, Mrs. Dickerson, was elected president of the combined "Y."

But it was Group Arts that came first and without political pressure or animosity helped prepare for these changes. Group Arts held interracial classes, gave parties and benefits that all could attend. It elected a Negro director.

EFFECTS FELT

And its effect soon began to be felt elsewhere in the town. The first year, for example, Mrs. Moyne Smith was asked to head junior dramatic classes for both Group Arts and the Princeton Community Players, an all-white amateur group. This she refused to do, arguing that it would be unnecessary duplication. Instead Mrs. Smith asked that both groups be incorporated into the Players. And so, for the first time, the Players opened their membership to the entire town, a policy which continues.

Dr. Wallis, who has left the University for private and clinical practise in town, explains the success of Group Arts this way:

We were never a discussion group. We just let the program speak for itself. And when others saw that people of different races, from different social groups, could work creatively together, side by side, their criticism and their fears were checked.

According to ex-mayor Morgan, now director of the University's Bureau of Student Employment, 'Group Arts paved the way for certain families to accept the end of segregated schools.'

"Ten years ago," Mrs. Dickerson recalls, "I wouldn't have thought these other changes possible. We really seem to have brought about better understanding through the arts."

ONE *of the little artists at work.*

HAS ARTIST-DIRECTOR

Of particular importance to the success of Group Arts as an artistic and interracial experiment has been its artist-director, Rex Gorleigh, accepted throughout the community as an artist of talent and a man of integrity. Gorleigh came to Group Arts in January 1947, a few months after its inception, through the recommendation of the Cooperative Community Art Program of the Friends Service League. For the three years previous, he had been director of the South Side Community Art Center in Chicago. Born in Penllyn, Pa., 48 years ago, Gorleigh was orphaned at fourteen, worked his way

through school in Washington, D. C., then went to New York to study art. In 1934 he joined the WPA Federal Art Project, working at Utopia Neighborhood House and the Harlem YMCA.

Already a painter of some note, Gorleigh took a year out for study in Europe. He worked in Paris and Berlin, toured Scandinavia and was given a one-man show in Helsinki.

"I had a fine time over there," he says now. "I'm still wondering why I ever came back."

But come back he did. The next year he was one of five Negroes selected by the Federal Art Project to organize art centers, and was sent to Greensboro, N. C. Since then his life, from Chicago to Princeton, has been a combination of painting, teaching, and community service. Gorleigh and his wife, Estelle, have now bought a house in Princeton, and he plans to stay here for at least the foreseeable future.

Besides Gorleigh and a part-time secretary who also helps with classes, there are no paid workers in Group Arts. Other instructors and clerical help are volunteer.

Selma Burke, the well-known Negro sculptress, comes from New Hope, Pa., twice a week to teach adult classes. The Rev. Benjamin J. Anderson, pastor of the Witherspoon St. Presbyterian Church, has a class in community folk singing. Mrs. Wallis teaches painting. The wife of an English teacher at the University teaches modern dancing. And several other talented people give regularly of their time to keep the project going.

Fees for the workshops are kept down to a bare minimum, and children whose parents can't afford the expense are taken in without charge.

INTERPRETIVE *dance group, a part of the interracial experiment.*

With these low fees, a number of children on scholarships and the ever-increasing cost of art supplies, Group Arts just barely manages to keep its head above water. This year again it started with a deficit. Voluntary contributions, membership fees, and the proceeds of the various extra-curricular projects it sponsors through the year are Group Arts' only source of funds.

The biggest of the projects is an annual series of film revivals brought down from the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Last fall's program, for example, included a Charlie Chaplin film, some Mack Sennett comedies and Douglas Fairbanks' "Thief of Bagdad." The films are well attended by undergraduates and townspeople alike.

Besides this, Group Arts sponsors several art shows each year where work by artists, including many who do not work with the group, are shown and sold on a commission basis.

But the important thing is not that Group Arts has started its fifth year with a deficit, or that it does not yet have the community support its deserves. The remarkable thing is rather that it has survived, and that a great many Princetonians consider it worth their time and effort to see that it does not die.

DIRECTOR *Rex Gorleigh instructs young artists.*

Acme

HARRISON BOYD *of Ferndale, Mich., waits for traffic light in home-made midget automobile which he built out of wood and tin. Powered with 4-horse-power engine, car gives 90 miles on gallon of gas.* BOTTOM: *Two-year-old Lester Massengill wears crown as grand champion baby of Detroit after winning baby contest sponsored by the Detroit Junior Board of Commerce. Choice was made on basis of health, beauty, and popularity. At left is child's Negro father, George Massengill; at right, white mother, Claire.*

Your Dollar's Worth

PORTABLE RADIOS

Portable radios are often given as gifts, but the recipient may be less than pleased if the gift radio turns out to need three or four times as great an expenditure for batteries as would another comparable set. Consumer's Union advises you not to select a portable unless you expect it to be used at least part of the time where house current is available. Don't consider just the price, but also the battery cost. Be sure the batteries are new when you buy the radio. Selection of "Best Buys" was based on overall quality, price, and battery cost.

Consumer Reports lists the following three sets as "Best Buys" for those who want a relatively low-cost set which is relatively economical of batteries and who do not listen to weak or distant stations *Wards* Airplane Cat. No.— 62 A 1161M, $24.95 plus shipping charges; *RCA Victor* BX-55, $34.90; *RCA Victor* BX-57, $39.90. The *Sears* Silvertone Cat. No.— 57 ET 226, $38.75 plus shipping charges, was a "Best Buy" for receiving weak or distant stations.

ELECTRIC SHAVERS

Tests of electric shavers by a jury of Consumers Union staff members showed that the *Remington* Contour De Luxe AG, $25.50, and the *Sunbeam* Shavemaster W, $24.50, gave the fastest and closest shaves, though not quite as close as a safety razor. The *Schick* "20," $24.50, which was found fair in speed and closeness of shave produced the least skin irritation. The members of CU's jury were by no means unanimous in their verdicts. The tests confirmed the advice carried in earlier issues of *Consumer Reports:* Buy a shaver from a store that will exchange it or refund your money if it isn't satisfactory after a few days' use.

Three less expensive shavers tested earlier by CU are the *Norelco* 7737, $15.50, a-c only; the *Sears* Craftsman, Cat. No.—9 E 9282, $16.50 plus shipping; and the *Schick* Colonel 300, $17.50. The *Norelco* was rather slow, but light, quiet and relatively easy to clean. It shaved to average closeness. The *Sears* was about average, the Schick somewhat below average in performance.

YOUR DOLLAR'S WORTH is a digest of articles appearing in *Consumer Reports* (the monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 38 E. First Street, New York 3, N. Y., and available by individual subscription at $5 a year). Product ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests on samples purchased by Consumers Union in the open market.

■ **If the West wants to save Asia from communism, and if Asians want true independence and prosperity, both sides must correct some misconceptions**

The Struggle For Asia*

By Richard L-G. Deverall

IT IS taken for granted that the basic difficulty with Asia is its poverty. It is almost an axiom in the Western world that if the Asians are given sufficient food and clothing they will, *ipso facto,* close their ears to the blandishments of Stalin and the Cominform and hop on a bandwagon called "the American way of life."

Both premises are oversimplifications. Both are half true; *both are half false.*

During the past several months I have visited with common folk in India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Borneo, Ceylon, Singapore and Malaya. Except in Burma and the Philippines, I found that the man in the street was much more anti-white than he was anti-Japanese. Although the Japanese for almost four years occupied these countries—and we assumed that Japanese rule was harsh and brutal—the little people that I talked with were quite nostalgic about their Japanese "elder brothers." Probing the thought-pattern, it was soon clear that centuries of white domination and racism in Asia had left an infinitely deeper scar than the short-lived "liberation" of Hideki Tojo and his Imperial Japanese Army. This is mentioned because if there is any omnipresent thought-pattern characterizing Asiatics today, it is their hatred for the white man. Not hatred for any one white man, but hatred for the white European in general.

When you visit Asiatic countries still under the colonial rule of European Powers—Socialist or otherwise—you soon discover that the arrogance of the white colonialists is as unpleasant to an American as it is to the Asiatic. The American visitor identifies the attitude of the colonialist with racism and the *Herrenvolk* concept. The Asian, unfortunately, identifies it with the white man. Therefore, while American statesmen talk of the great wave of nationalism in Asia, they should remember that much of the nationalist upsurge is caused by discrimination because of color. That discrimination, and not general national feeling, lies at the

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RICHARD L-G. DEVERALL *was chief of labor education in occupied Japan for two years. He has just returned from an extensive swing around the East.*

bottom of Asiatic nationalism. In some countries, the hatred of the white man is not as severe as in others. But everywhere it is deep, the terrible legacy of Portuguese, British, French, Dutch and other foreign rule throughout Asia.

Today, any viewing of Asia must be through the eyes of Asia. And we must view Soviet and British and American activities in Asia as a colored Asian sees them—and not as *we* would in San Francisco or New York.

For the past year or two there has been much talk of "saving" Asia from communism. We hold one idea, to the exclusion of others, that Asia groans under a mountain of poverty and disease, that because Asia is poverty-stricken, billions must be poured into that overpopulated continent in order to stop the march of Soviet imperialism and prevent the extension of Soviet colonialism. That idea needs correcting.

ASIA UNDERPOPULATED

One fact is that Asia—excepting India, China and Java—suffers not from *over*population but *under*population. In Japan — Japanese propaganda to the contrary — there is ample room in the northern island of Hokkaido for 5 million more people. In countries such as Burma, Borneo, New Guinea, Thailand, Malaya and Ceylon, there is ample room for tens of millions of new citizens. And, in terms of resources, the Asiatic countries abound with the raw materials which can in the future furnish supplies for a highty industrialization and enrichment of agriculture throughout the continent, raising standards of living so as to equal, or surpass, those of Europe. It is well to remember, too, that as national economies are developed in Asia and the raw-material bleeding of the colonial era slows down Europe may face declining standards of living. But that is another, if a related problem.

All the mistaken ideas have not come from us, however. The Asiatics, too, must readjust some of theirs. During the years of imperial rule over such countries as India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, etc., it was glib assumption of the local patriots that, once the white man was driven out of the country, the Asiatics could build up national economies, stop exploitation and raise the standards of living. When the Soviets came to power after the October 1917 Revolution, the Soviet-inspired Comintern launched a now thirty-year-old propaganda against imperialism that hammered away on this theme.

ECONOMY IN TAILSPIN

Yet, when India secured its independence a few years ago and Pakistan was cut out of Greater India, the economy of India went into a tailspin, and things have come to such a pass that the Socialist rivals of Pandit Nehru claim that the Indians were better off under British than under local and independent rule The truth, of course, is that the culture, the economies and the technology of many of the Asiatic countries were geared to the colonial order. This order, in essence, aimed at the cultivation of cash crops for export overseas in order to secure the foreign exchange with which to buy food to feed the workers. Agriculture

languished in many of the countries of Asia, since peasants were tilling the soil with implements 5,000 years behind the times. Also—and this is the fault of the imperialists — in Malaya, India and Ceylon, the restrictions of hundreds of millions of acres to rubber, tea and other cash crops actually turned countries potentially self-sufficient in food into hungry, food-deficit countries.

Because they *can* point to imperialist abuses, Asian nationalist leaders have for decades denounced the foreign capitalist, placing upon his shoulders blame for every possible evil. The hatred for the outsider has blinded the average Asian to the fact that the local moneylender with his 400-percent interest per annum, the local capitalist and the local landlord were not only less beneficial to the economy than the foreign capitalist, but that from the peasants and workers they drained more blod and marrow than seems possible.

NECESSARY REFORMS

Basically, the problems facing nearly every country of Asia revolve about land reform—land to the tillers at fair prices, holdings large enough to support a family, and cheap rural credit. Improved agricultural techniques and irrigation, coupled with the development of hydroelectric plants, could within a few decades turn such now-hungry countries as India into food-surplus areas supporting hundreds of millions of peope. These, for the first time in their lives, would then have sufficient cash income to purchase sewing-machines, cotton textiles, household appliances and other consumer items.

Education, industrial and cultural, is another great need. Today, industrial efficiency is so low in many countries of Asia that the "cheap Oriental labor" we speak of is, in fact, very expensive labor, due to inefficiency. Another factor in Asia's poverty is the disproportion between producers and parasites. The parasitical nature of the economy is such that no amount of economic improvement can raise the standard of living for the common man without sweeping changes in life and cultural habits. Thus, in one large Asiatic country, there are 4 million industrial workers; 40 million poverty-stricken, landless peasants; 10 million domestic servants; and tens of thousands of storekeepers, moneylenders and landlords who sweat the workers and peasants and have a horde of non-productive servants scurrying this way and that. The little group of literate politicians, businessmen and moneylenders who sit at the top of this economically parasitical heap talk of democracy, but their talk rings hollow to the workers and the peasant who have just about sufficient skin to keep their bones together.

COMMUNIST OFFERS

It is into this groaning mass of peasants and workers that the Communist politician comes. He offers them land: "Kill the landlord, divide the land, and let the peasant rule." To the little peasant, that is quite obviously a jolly good idea. As we know from the lesson of China and from the progress of the Communist movement in some other Asian countries, the program is so simple and so effective that it constitutes one of the major revolutionary techniques

of the Cominform in its plans for the conquest of Asia with its vast storehouse of men and raw materials. To the intellectual and the student, the Communist offers the pattern of Russia: economic and political control of the several countries by the Communist party, collectivization of farms and the instruments of production, the installation of an élite bureaucracy to take the place of former foreign rulers and the "native capitalists." Here again the lesson of China shows that the intellectual and the student are attracted to communism because of a real desire to benefit the broad masses and to win positions of power and responsibility denied to them under the colonial system.

Anyone who reads the text of the several treaties signed between Red China and the Soviet Union knows full well that the Communist pattern in Asia does not reveal its true colonial intent. In Manchuria, for instance, under the agreements, food and raw materials flow to the Soviet Union while consumer goods flow to China in return. The Russian imperialist pattern is the same as the European. The Soviet promise for Asia is merely to replace European colonialism with Soviet colonialism, to replace European imperialism with the Russian brand of ideological and cultural imperialism.

ANTI-WHITE PREJUDICE

To return to the subject mentioned at the beginning of this article—discrimination because of color: in selling to Asia the Soviet message, the Communists can and do appeal to the anti-white and anti-European prejudices of the Asian population. It is my belief that Asia *is* predisposed to accept Soviet propaganda rather than listen to the West because of this basic color prejudice. In years gone by, it may be recalled, when Stalin met Asian representatives, he pointedly used the phrase "We Asians. . . ." One of the most powerful aids to Stalin's plans is now found in a Red China that approaches other Asiatic countries as a friend and brother, as a fellow non-Caucasian Power. Since the Red Chinese took over in Asia, Soviet propaganda throughout the continent has stepped up its racist propaganda. While formerly the Soviets talked of "capitalists," now the Communist pamphlets read "white capitalists."

To counter the Red propaganda, an intelligent program of aid is necessary. What Asia really needs now is not so much money as ideas and know-how. If the West is serious in giving aid to Asia, such aid will include money for teachers to educate the tens of millions of illiterates. Aid from the West should include precise information about the building and operation of credit unions, trade unions, producer and consumer cooperatives, not to mention biodynamic farming, new dietary practices, public-health centers and so forth. The West has the revolutionary techniques that can accelerate the democratic revolution throughout Asia. Our only hope of a free and democratic Asia is to help develop an Orient whose workers and peasants can shake off the shackles of illiteracy and economic exploitation. If proper aid is now given, the people of Asia can build strong national economies capable of sustaining themselves, and will reject the Com-

munists as well as other foreign exploiters.

Above all, however, particularly in our own case, we cannot go to Asia with clean hands until we have done everything possible in the United States to eliminate racial and religious discrimination. The Mexican, the Puerto Rican, the Negro and the other racial and religious minorities in the United States must be accorded the same civil rights as any other sons of God. Unless we assure Asia by deeds, not words, that there is racial and religious democracy in America, American aid to Asia will probably just go down the Soviet drain, as did so much of our earlier aid to China.

Roland Mitchell

SUPPORT FOR NAACP—*Walter White, executive secretary, accepts with gratitude a check for $189.50 in contributions and memberships from the employees of the Times Square Post Office, New York City. John Kirby, Jr., (left), a postal clerk, is presenting his co-workers' annual contributions as tangible evidence of their support of the NAACP civil-rights program.*

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HAITI INAUGURATES NEW PRESIDENT—*Col. Paul Magloire, recently elected president of Haiti, speaks at his inaugural in Port-au-Prince on December 6. The ceremony took place in the National Palace before special embassies from 33 foreign countries and the entire membership of the National Assembly. Col. Magloire is not a popularly-elected president despite the publicity in the United States that he is. As a member of the three-man Junta (Lavaud, Levelt, Magloire) Col. Magloire was not eligible under the Haitian Constitution, Article 133, even to be a presidential candidate.*

■ How could this mother explain a racial retort to her sons?

On the Deck of Old Ironsides

By Wanda Waters

IT was to be our most memorable vacation; and it could have been all that, except this incident, like the proverbial "fly in the ointment," which will forever mar the beauty and wonder we have seen.

We had decided to splurge on one grand trip and, after considering various points of interest in the United States, thought it best, for the sake of our two boys, ages nine and eleven, that a historical pilgrimage to the states which had figured so prominently in the birth of our democracy would, of course, be most beneficial to the children.

So we toured New York with its Grant's tomb, Statue of Liberty; Philadelphia, where the boys stood in awe of the gigantic Liberty Bell with its deep crack like a bronze vein of freedom running through the middle; then we scampered on a tour of inspection through each of the four stories of the charming little home where Old Glory was born. Our boys stood thoughtfully at the old cemetery where so many Revolutionary patriots lie buried whose names fill the pages of our American history books; and when told that now we were on our way to Boston, they shouted with glee: "Boston must be wonderful, too "

Boston, as the historical seat of the Revolution, really was wonderful. This city had everything: The first public library was started there by Benjamin Franklin; there was Paul Revere's unusual house and the old North Church where the famous lantern hung as a signal for him to begin his momentous horseback ride through the town; there, too, is Bunker Hill and, getting a well-deserved rest in the Boston Navy Yard, — *Old Ironsides.*

The U. S. frigate *Constitution* (its official name) has served her country well since 1798 and been immortalized in a poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes. And being a ship, it appealed most strongly to our two boys, who have played at being

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WANDA WATERS, *a housewife, lives in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin.*

sailors on every accessible little pond. Here, at last, they were going to have the privilege of seeing a world famous ship.

EXCITEMENT GREAT

I confess that my excitement matched that of my children as we made our way up the gangplank toward the top deck of the ship that was known to be indestructible, and of which it was said, during the battle with the Guerriere in 1812, that "Her sides are made of iron " That name took and its been called "Old Ironsides" ever since. It is now under the care of the United States Navy; and great care is taken, not only in its maintenance, but also to see that no enemy agent might reproduce it for his purposes. All cameras are confiscated before anyone sets foot aboard. Here we stood, a family with varied emotion of reverence and pride while a petty officer pointed out various features of interest aboard.

When we got to the center of the deck, a Negro sailor, very striking and trim in his white duck uniform, handed us a historical pamphlet containing the story of the *U. S. Frigate Constitution*. The boys were delighted, and the sailor smiled broadly at their enjoyment. Then he courteously informed us that we would find the lower decks very interesting, too. I thought how good it was, and how thoughtful of the Navy to have a member of a racial minority aboard "Old Ironsides." I also thought there was no better way to teach my children democracy than to have them see white and colored sailors working together.

At that very moment, two sightseeing buses unloaded at least sixty passengers at the pier and they, too, hurried up the gangplank to get in on the inspection tour. The Negro sailor-host, not only did not have time to greet each visitor as he had us; but, what was more important, he could not keep up handing out the pamphlets. He tried hard, he hurried, but the tourists were coming upon him faster than he could handle them. He called to two gobs lounging about on a pile of rope to give him a hand. They just laughed. He called again, almost pleadingly, but they only shifted their position, settled themselves a little more comfortably and gave him a deprecatory wave of the hands that eloquently told him — "Go jump in the river." We stood rooted to the floor watching this exchange of mounting tension while the small heads of our two boys moved from the white sailors to the Negro, like those of spectators at a tennis match.

"What's the matter?" called the Negro sailor. "You can see I can't take care o' them all."

"Oh, no?" they drawled arrogantly.

"No " said the Negro. "You better give me a hand."

"Keep on doin' it yourself " yelled one of the two lazy sailors; while the other added in an undertone, but audible enough for us to hear, for we stood right near them: "Nuts to you, you damn Nigger!"

COMPLETELY SHOCKED

I was completely shocked, and my husband cautioned the "gob" severely with: "Watch your language, Bud." But worst of all, I could see the children taking it all

in with their mouths open, and there was no telling what impressions were forming in their little heads. Certainly they were not those I had wished; finally my nine-year old asked:

HUNTING THE ANSWER

"Why did he call him that, Daddy?" I could see my husband, an attorney (and a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln), just set his lips firmly and look away; while I floundered for an answer because (knowing my boys) I knew that he would expect one of me eventually.

"But what can I say?" I asked myself. "How can anyone have an answer to a thing like that?" My children knew so little about the problems and plight of the American Negro, since there is not a single family living in our suburb of 33,000 residents.

When I saw his wide wondering eyes searching mine, I said quietly: "I guess it's because he's a Negro; and no matter how good, how kind, or how smart they are, some silly white people are bound to dislike them and make things hard for them."

The older boy looked back at the Negro sailor as if he hadn't noticed before that he was colored. "Gosh," he said, "I was wondering what it was all about."

"He sure smiled nice to us," commented the nine-year-old, a little wistfully.

DID YOU KNOW –

That the first act of the English Parliament aimed against the African slave trade was passed in 1806?

In 1807 the export and import of slaves within the Britsh dominions was made illegal, although it was not until 1838 that slaves in the British West Indies finally obtained their freedom.

★ ★ ★

That "the black Venus Jeanne Duval" was the French poet Charles Baudelaire's (1821-1867) grand passion for twenty years?

Mlle. Duval, actually a light mulatto, was from the French West Indies. Many of the poems in *The Flowers of Evil* (1857) were written under Jeanne's inspiration. Prince Ourousof claims there are seventeen poems in "the Jeanne Duval cycle."

★ ★ ★

That sixteenth-century Lisbon counted more than 60,000 Negroes in its population of 200,000?

Nicholas Cleynarts, Renaissance humanist and tutor to the Infante Henrique, reports in one of his letters that the Negro and mulatto slaves in Lisbon, Portugal, outnumbered the free Portuguese.

Editorials

YESTERYEAR'S HARVEST

THE year 1950 is past, the harvest reaped, and the soil now lies ready for the season of 1951. What did we reap during 1950? It is not easy to draw up a balance sheet in race relations. Yet we feel that Negroes reaped more wheat than tares.

The columns of *The Crisis* have borne witness to the economic, political, and cultural advances of Negroes during 1950. The most far-reaching achievement was undoubtedly the successful arguing by NAACP attorneys and lawyers for Alpha Phi Alpha of the three segregation cases—Sweatt, Henderson, and McLaurin—before the United States Supreme Court. On June 5 the Court handed down three unanimous decisions ordering the admission of Heman Sweatt to the University of Texas law school, abolition of segregation at the University of Oklahoma; and the striking down of jim crow on railway dining cars in the South. Although these ruling do not in themselves bring the millennium, they do remove major barriers to our fight on segregation.

Awarding of the Nobel peace prize to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche is a personal achievement which redounds to our credit and which racial barriers would have denied Negroes fifteen years ago. There are many talented young Negroes who could be easily developed into Ralph Bunches if they had the opportunity. Giving them the opportunity is part of our unfilled task for 1951.

Often our advances have been tucked away in small news items buried as fillers on the inside pages of the daily newspapers. Yet this or that personal achievement or appointment is often more indicative of the broad sweep of our advancement than the more spectacular headline item. Things like the employment of Fred Cooper on a white professional football team in Richmond, Va., the awarding of the Prix de Rome to Ulysses Kay; the appointment of Dr. Howard McNeill to the Michigan State Board of Registration in Medicine; the installation of the Rev. Maurice Dawkins as a member of the ministerial staff of the Community Church in New York City; or the appointment of Dr. Kenneth McClaine as an assistant in medicine at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. Some might call these mere straws in the wind, but they do indicate the direction in which the wind is blowing.

We reaped some tares, too. There was the wholesale courts-martialing of Negro GIs in Korea; the recent activities of the Klansmen in the South, especially South Carolina; the refusal to renew leases of several tenants in Levittown and Metropolitan's Stuyvesant Town because they entertained Negroes; the attempt to burn the home of the distinguished scientist Dr. Percy Julian because he had bought in a white neighborhood; and the restrictive-

covenant suits which some whites in the Firestone-Florence area of Los Angeles, Calif., are bringing against their neighbors because they sold their homes to Negroes. Such incidents help to remind us that America must still cure her racism.

Negroes are still involved in a struggle for betterment and equality as American citizens. But the fight loses much of its sharp edge of bitterness as more and more whites join in the struggle. The year that opens before us can be one of even greater achievement.

WILSON APPOINTED

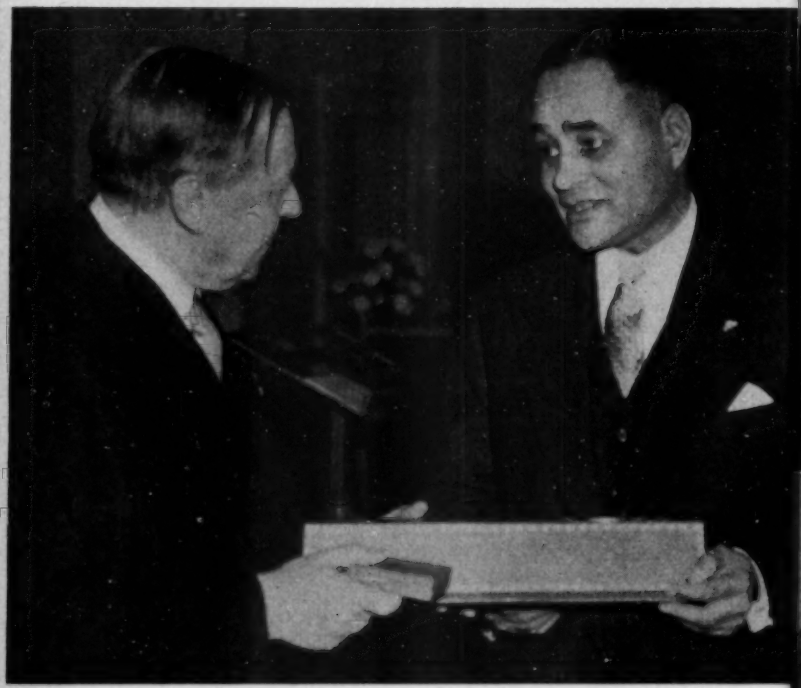
ONE thing that heartens us about mobilization is the President's appointment of Charles Edward Wilson, president of General Electric to head it. Mr. Wilson is an industrialist who believes that the Constitution applies to black as well as white Americans. He chairmaned The President's Committee on Civil Rights; and if he lives up to the recommendations of that report on fair employment, we can expect an honest approach to our employment problem from the Washington end.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALISM

SOUTH African fascism is showings its white hand at a time when the "free" countries of the world are talking about a solid front against Russian communism. The imminent war crisis is in everybody's mind, with all the uncertainty of outlook for the immediate future; yet no responsible voice in the western white world has stood up to denounce the racism of Dr. F. D. Malan and his South African Nationalists. Is it because his chief victims are black people? How can the "free" Western World expect Asia and Africa to listen to their plaints and promises so long as they keep silent on South Africa

Dr. Malan and his Nationalist party have a full-fledged totalitarian philosophy with a master-race policy as brutal and reactionary as anything ever cooked up by the Nazis. But the white press does not seem eager to publicize the sordid goings on behind God's back because South African natives, Indians, and Colored are the chief victims. In nearly three years of rule the Nationalists have passed the Group Areas Act creating closed ghettos for non-whites; they have promulgated a Mixed Marriage Act and an Immorality Amendment Act banning interracial marriage; they have introduced *apartheid* or racial segregation in railway stations, post offices, and other public places; they have tightened up the pass laws; adopted a policy of refusing passports to all non-whites who wish to leave the country; and they have announced their intention of abolishing the Cape Colored franchise, the Native Representative Council, and the three members of parliamnt representing Africans in the House Assembly.

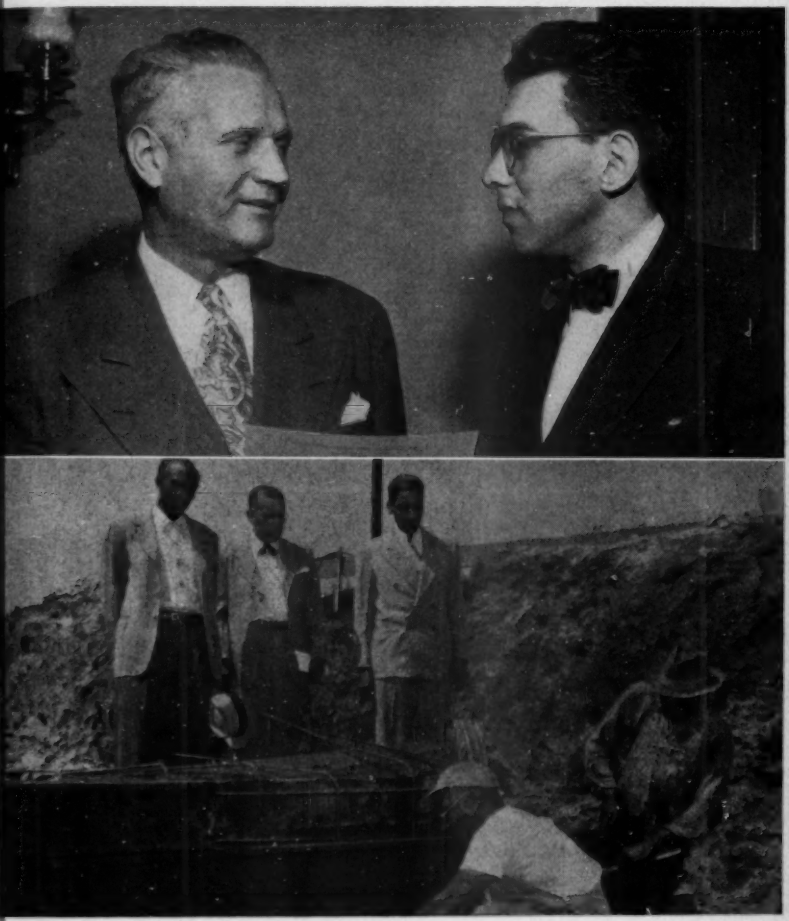
This barbarous policy of human degradation hits a new low even for South Africa. We shall never have peace or one world until such savagery is destroyed.



RECEIVES NOBEL PRIZE—*Dr. Ralph Bunche (right) accepts the 1950 Nobel Peace prize from Gunner Jahn, president of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, December 10, at Oslo university, Norway. Dr. Bunche was honored for his work as United Nations mediator in ending the Palestine war. At the ceremony he said, "May there be in our time a world of peace in which we, the people, make full use of the possibilities which are in us, a world of freedom and equality among all men."*

DID YOU KNOW —

That in the Middle Ages white slaves from Europe were an important article of export to the Orient?



ASSISTANT FIELD SECRETARY *Herbert Hill (right) is received by Governor Luther Youngdahl of Minnesota. Governor Youngdahl praised the work of the NAACP.* *See page* 43. BOTTOM: *Skill workers who have secured employment through the efforts of the Baltimore, Md., branch of the NAACP work on a state construction job at Morgan college, Baltimore.*

Cecil Photo St

SOME OF THE LEADERS *in the Savannah, Ga., branch after listening to a stirring address by Dr. Boyd. Others in the picture (front row, L to R) are Dr. Philip Cooper, treasurer; W. W. Law, member of the NAACP board of directors and branch president; Dr. Boyd, and Henry Ward, youth council president. Second row: Atty. Julius Williams, Jr., legal redress chairman; Dr. Ralph Gilbert, former branch president; Dr. H. M. Collier, Jr., education chairman; Rev. J. S. Bryan; John Delaware, membership chairman; and Connie Wimberly, vice-president.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

MILITARY

Marshall to Japan: Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, has made application for a military permit to enter Japan in order to aid 24th Infantrymen convicted in courts-martial cases.

Appeals for aid from imprisoned Negro soldiers and reports from war correspondents, returned officers, and enlisted men indicate that many of the convicted GIs have been victims of racial discrimination. Sentences imposed by courts-martial in the war zone range from ten years imprisonment at hard labor to death. Defense of these soldiers is the first item on the legal defense agenda of the Association.

Gilbert Case: Further action on behalf of Lt. Leon Gilbert, whose death sentence was commuted by President Truman to twenty years in prison, will be pushed to the limit by the Association. A conference was held in Washington in November between NAACP attorney Frank Reeves and Judson Ruch, of York, Pa., the attorney retained by Mrs. Gilbert. The lawyers agreed to act as co-counsel for the convicted officer in all future handlings of his case.

Reeves and Ruch are studying the opinion submitted to the President by the Judicial Council of the Judge Advocate General's office for a determination of the course of action to be followed in working for Gilbert's freedom.

Meanwhile, the Judge Advocate General's office has granted permission to the Association's lawyers to represent other convicted servicemen who have requested such aid. "This office has no objection to your organization appearing in any case at the request of the accused," Colonel William P. Connally, Jr., assistant Judge Advocate General wrote. "You may be sure," he continued, "that this office will cooperate to the maximum degree consistent with an orderly and prompt administration of its functions.'

LEGAL

Fights Levittown Ouster: Judge Percy D. Stoddard of the Supreme Court of New York for Nassau county has ordered Levitt and Sons, Long Island builders, to show cause why a temporary injunction should not be issued to restrain them from evicting from the community of Levittown two families who have played host to Negroes.

The action was taken pending disposition of a suit filed by the Association on behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Julius Novick and Mr. and Mrs. Adolph

Ross, whose leases are not being renewed. The NAACP charges that the two families are being evicted because last July they invited Negro children from nearby Hempstead to play with their children.

Last year, the Federal Housing Administration compelled the builders to remove a written restrictive covenant from deeds and leases in Levittown after pressure by the NAACP and other groups. Despite a Supreme Court ruling declaring such covenants unenforceable, Levittown continues to adhere to its lily-white policy and Negro families still cannot buy or rent homes in the development.

DISCRIMINATION

Asks No Jim-Crow: A request that the federal government set up appropriate safeguards against segregation and discrimination at the proposed H-Bomb installations in South Carolina was made in December by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau.

In a letter to Gordon Dean, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Mitchell asserted that in all atomic installations thus far, "we have seen extensive discrimination based on race." These conditions prevail in the southwest, in Tennessee, and in the northwest, he said, adding that federal territory in all of these areas has become the scene of "disgusting segregation in housing, denial of job opportunities and a denial of the use of various facilities."

"We ask now," the NAACP official declared, "that . . . there be no discrimination in the housing facilities . . . in the [South Carolina] area. We ask also that there be no discrimination in the job opportunities of that section. We ask further that in the use of facilities there be no segregation of race.

"While this matter is still in the blue print stage, it is very important that the federal government make certain that the racial patterns of the State of South Carolina will not be imposed in the territory which is used for the production of the 'H' Bomb."

CONTRIBUTIONS

Emergency Funds: More than $2,000 has been raised for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., by a special committee appointed by Dr. E. A. Johnson, president of the Louisiana state conference of the NAACP, to assist the Association in its financial emergency.

Working both within and outside of NAACP branches throughout Louisiana, the special committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Mildred C. Byrd, has set a goal of $4,000 in its fund-raising efforts.

During the past week, the Legal Defense Fund has also benefited by a gift of $200 from the Max Ascoli Fund, Inc., of New York City. A contribution of $250 was made by Dr. E. R. Alexander of New York City through the Committee of 100, a group of outstanding citizens organized for the support of the NAACP legal program; and a check for $100 from

Lucy Ward Stebbins of Berkeley, California, was received through the NAACP west coast regional office.

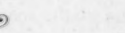
Contributions received by the NAACP during the first week in December include $2,500 from the United Steelworkers of America, CIO; $250 from the Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Co. of Chicago; and $100 from Isadore Martin of Philadelphia.

An editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* on December 2, calling attention to the Association's financial crisis, brought contributions totalling $300 within the first three days after it appeared.

MISCELLANEOUS

Here and There: Branch director Gloster Current toured branches in the midwest, southwest, and the southeast during November and December, addressing mass meetings and conferring with branch executive officers. Executive secretary Walter White went on a speaking tour of the midwest in November, addressing the closing mass meeting of the Oklahoma state conference on November 17.

In December Mr. White addressed the second annual convention of the International Union of Electrical Workers (CIO) meeting in Milwaukee, Wisc. Mr. White cited the racial arrogance of Europeans and Americans as one of the root causes of war.



DID YOU KNOW —

That the first exhibition of African Negro sculpture was held in Paris thirty-two years ago?

Though the esthetic value of African Negro sculpture was discovered by Maurice de Vlaminck in 1904 when he bought two polychromed Negro statues, Negro art did not conquer Paris until a few years after World War I. African sculpture was such a sensation that Vlaminck, Derain, Picasso, Braque, and Max Jacob all went through a Negro period, and it was through this group that African art exerted its tremendous influence upon modern art.

"African Negro art," of course, is a misnomer; as vague as the term "European art," since each African people has its own art style. The difference between an Ife terra cotta head from Nigeria and a Baluba female figure from the Belgian Congo is as great as that between Brancusi's "Mlle Pogany" and Verrocchio's "David."

What the Branches Are Doing

Florida: Delegates from as far west as Pensacola and Panama City, and as far south as Perrine and Ft. Myers, gathered at the Greater Bethel Baptist church, Tampa, during Thanksgiving week-end for the tenth annual meeting of the Florida state conference of NAACP branches.

General theme of the conference was "Bringing Benefits of Recent Court Decisions to the Local Level," and the conference went on record as endorsing the policy of the national office in seeking full integration in the use of all public facilities.

Among the speakers at the meetings were Atty. Horace Hill, Daytona Beach; Eugene Montgomery, S. C.; George Ponty, University of Florida student; Hon. F. S. Pittman, state superintendent from Hillsborough county; Daniel Byrd, assistant field secretary NAACP; and Rev. James Hinton, president of the South Carolina state conference NAACP.

Awards to winners in the popularity contest among branch president went to Tri-City and Brevard county, which reported $58.59 and $50 respectively. District number five, under the leadership of Capt. L. E. Hall, won highest honors among the district by reporting $679.49 during the year for the support of the state conference. Branches which have already paid their quotas for 1950 are Hallandale, Seminole, and Tri-City.

Conference officers for the coming year are: Rev. W. J. Black, Lake Wales, president; Matthew Gregory, Tampa, and Atty. Horace Hill, Daytona Beach; vice-presidents; Mrs. M. L. Mike, Leesburg, recording secretary; Mrs. Golic Lang, Fruitland Park, assistant secretary; Rev. K. S. Johnson, Sanford, treasurer; Harry Moore, Mims, executive secretary; R. V. Gripper, Orlando, youth director; Atty. W. A. Fordham, Tampa, chairman of legal committee; and E. E. Broughton, Tampa, chairman of finance committee. Next year's conference will be held at Daytona Beach.

Illinois: The Chicago branch says that Judge William Daly did a complete about-face when the Association entered the case of the six South Chicago hoodlums vs. Mr. and Mrs. McCalister Carson.

Mr. and Mrs. Carson, who had been brutally assaulted at a White Castle hamburger shop near their home, asked Judge Daly to issue warrants against the attackers, but he would issue only two of the eight drawn up. And then he booked the defendants only on disorderly conduct charges despite the brutality of an attack which had resulted in a miscarriage for Mrs. Carson.

When the case first came into court Judge Daly had addressed the plaintiffs, Mr. and Mrs. Carson, as if they were the defendants instead of the victims. But when the branch entered the case with Atty. Clinton Sims, the judge changed his tune.

The Chicago branch has petitioned the Chicago Library Board to bar circulation of *Life* magazine's lily-white pictorial history of World War II.

Membership campaign of the branch closed on October 29, with an addition of at least 3,000 new members to the branch.

Assistant field secretary Herbert Hill reports the following financial contributions from the trade-union movement in the Chicago area: Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL), $500; Chicago Joint Board Retail Clerks International Union (AFL), $250; Local 719 UAW (CIO), $100; Chicago Joint Council Building Service Employees International Union, $100; Local 356 Federated Hotel Waiters Union, $100; Local 444 Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders (AFL), $100; Local 79 IOGWU, $25; and Executive Board of Minnesota State CIO Council, $25. In addition to the monies, the labor movement enrolled several hundreds of their own members.

Indiana: The South Bend branch reports that three local Negroes were appointed last fall to positions in the South Bend public schools. Ruby Jarrett is on the pupil-personnel staff and is responsible for counselling and guidance of elementary, junior, and senior high school students. Miss Jarrett, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick White, received her B. S. degree in 1948 from Indiana University, and in 1950 her M. S. in personnel guidance from the same university.

Peggy Jean Flowers has been appointed to teach physical education and science. She is the dauhgter of Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Flowers, and holds the B. S. degree in education from Indiana University.

Herbert Lewis, Jr., teaches physical education, science, and English at the Linden junior high school. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Lewis, Sr., and holds a B. S. degree from Western Michigan College, Kalamazoo, Mich. Mr. Lewis served as second lieutenant in the Army Air Force for two and a half years, and was attached to the 332nd Pursuit Squadron.

This is the first time Negroes have ever been appointed to positions in the South Bend school system.

Minnesota: After Herbert Hill, assistant field secretary of the NAACP, met with Governor Luther W. Youngdahl of Minnesota in November, the Governor issued the following statement:

"It has been most gratifying to note the historic victories that have been achieved in recent months in securing equal educational facilities to Negro citizens.

"I am pleased to observe the vital contribution the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is rendering on behalf of democracy in furthering these educational advances, and note with great personal satisfaction that over 1,000 Negroes are, for the first time, attending state universities that have been previously barred to them.

"I urge all fellow citizens who cherish the precepts of democracy and social justice to actively support the work of the NAACP and to assist it in its important fight to build a stronger and better nation."

New Jersey: The Plainfield branch through its emergency-fund-raising committee headed by Mrs. Esther Dillar and Mrs. Agnes Durrah has raised $546.08 to aid the national office. The branch went over the top in a drive which began on September 17 and closed October 29. Contributions were received from churches, lodges, civic groups, and individuals throughout the community.

New York: The Albany branch entertained the New York state confer-

Fred Ha

YOUTH LEADERS *from NAACP youth councils and college chapters met at Howard university, December* 8-10, *to examine the Association's youth program for omissions, renovations, and needs for future action. W. W. Law of Savannah, Ga., acted as chairman.* BOTTOM: *Some of the NAACP representatives in attendance at White House conference on children and youth December* 3-7, 1950.

SHIRLEY ANN CONYERS, *queen of the baby contest sponsored by the Chattanooga, Tenn., branch.* *See page* 46.

ence November 4-5. One hundred and fifty delegates from state branches attended a conference built around the theme of legislation, housing, and intergroup cooperation.

Tennessee: Little Shirley Ann Conyers, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. J. G. Conyers of Chattanooga, was crowned queen in a baby contest recently sponsored by the Chattanooga branch. She represented the First Baptist church in the contest, aim of which was to raise funds for the local branch.

SOUTHWEST REGION

Branches Exceed Quotas: According to regional secretary Donald Jones, twenty branches in the southwest region have exceeded their 1950 membership quotas. They are the Arkansas units of Cotton Plant and Paris; the Oklahoma branches of Blaine county (Watongo), Bryan county (Colbert), and Weleetka; the Louisiana branches of Benton, Bossier, Friendship, Madison Parish, St. Charles Parish, Washington Parish, and Webster Parish; and the Texas branches of Denton, Elgin, Franklin, Mansfield, Plano, Port Arthur, San Antonio, and Victoria. With branch membership goals of 950 members, these units have so far enrolled 1411 members.

Natchitoches: Two presidents of Louisiana branches, T. D. Eugene of Norco, head of the St. Charles Parish branch, and B. W. Williams of Minden, Webster Parish branch president, have drawn praise from state NAACP president Dr. E. A. Johnson of Natchitoches, La., for "the excellent work these men have performed in pushing their branches beyond the membership goals set for them by the national office."

As of October 16, the St. Charles branch, with a quota of 50 members, had reported 72 to national headquarters; and the Wester Parish branch had reported 190 on a quota of 100.

Sweatt Victory Fund: When Bishop college students and faculty closed their campus Sweatt victory fund campaign with $1339.81, the total in the fund shot up to $4118.43.

According to information received from Dr. Joseph J. Rhoads, Bishop College president and director general of the Sweatt victory fund drive which has a two-year goal of $50,000, the college fund-raising drive consumed nine days, and was marked by individual contributions from teachers and students, enthusiastic campus rallies, and money raising functions staged by various college organizations and groups. The stated goal of the drive was $1000. They went over the top by more than $300.

In addition to the good news of the Bishop College drive, a check for $100 reached Mr. Smith's office from the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Texas, Rev. Z. H. Hickerson, president. This represented first payment on a two-year pledge of $2000 made by the BM and E Convention at its recent meeting in Houston. Also, a check for $100 was received from the Lavaca county branch, W. A. Conway, president; and another for $20 from the radio class of McDonald College, Fort Worth.

"We can now breathe a little easier with the first milestone of the fund drive behind us," commented Mr. Smith. "We now have sufficient funds on hand to take care of Heman Marion Sweatt's first year expenses of $3,500 in law school, and the knowledge that the Houston Committee of the Sweatt Victory Fund, with its goal of $12,000, is hard at work along with numbers of like groups throughout the state gives us assurance that our drive for Sweatt and for freedom is well on the way toward success. We expect to have the first $25,000 raised by the end of the year."

College and School News

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY (South Orange, N. J.) is organizing a summer school for American students at Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Emphasis will be on French language study combined with social research. Total cost is expected to be $500, including return air transportation, tuition, board, and lodging.

■

Robert Tucker is new president of the student council at TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE. Tucker entered State on an Elk scholarship in 1947 as a freshman.

■

The founder's day address at the NATIONAL BAPTIST MISSIONARY TRAINING SCHOOL was delivered on November 23 by Rev. A. L. Porter, Jr., pastor of the Pleasant Green Baptist church, Nashville.

■

The sixty-third annual convention of the VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION adopted a resolution putting the Association "on record as believing that segregation is at the heart of discriminatory practices used against minority groups in American society . . . and pledging ourselves as individuals and as an Association to do all in our power to eliminate segregation from American life and to support the NAACP in its effort to achieve this goal." Another resolution opposed "unalterably the segregated Regional Plan of education as proposed by the southern governors."

Mrs. Irma Blackwell is president

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of VTA, and J. Rupert Picott executive secretary.

■

Frances P. Coleman of Monrovia, Liberia, is one of fifteen foreign students studying at EVANSVILLE COLLEGE (Indiana). She is working toward a degree in medical technology in order that she may join the staff of a U. S. public health hospital in Liberia.

■

President John W. Davis of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has been elected to head the National Education Association's national commission for the defense of democracy through education. He succeeds Dr. Harold Benjamin, dean of the college of education at the University of Maryland. President Truman has also appointed Dr. Davis as a member of the National Science Board, subject to confirmation by the Senate, for a term of six years.

President Davis announces that the state board of education has awarded the contract to construct a $900,000 science building at the college. This building will enable the college to do more significant work in the sciences.

Dr. Herman G. Canady, professor of psychology, has just been named a diplomate in clinical psychology of the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology, Inc.

A new feature of the department of music at WVSC is a rhythm band made up of children. It is directed by Edward C. Lewis, Jr.

Main address of the annual scholarship convocation was delivered by President Florence Read, of Spelman, when nine ranking students won individual scholarship awards.

FRANCES PAGE COLEMAN, *a student at Evansville college, Evansville, Ind. Miss Page is from Monrovia, Liberia.*

The college sponsored a world problems seminar November 12-13, with Dr. Shepherd Witman of Cleveland, Ohio, delivering the main address. Two German educators, Herman Trost and Arthur Bratu, from Frankfort were visitors to the college on November 21.

■

Allen Davis, producer and director of the Old Vic Company of Bristol, England, met with the university players of SPELMAN COLLEGE in November. Mr. Davis said that college dramatics in England are an extra-curricular activity, whereas they are usually included in the curricula in America.

■

The fall lecture series of the MOREHOUSE COLLEGE department of sociology was opened by Dr. Melvin

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■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY played host to the Library Conference November 9-11. Among the conference speakers were Anita Hostetter, executive secretary of the board of education for librarianship of the American Library Association; Alice Lohrer, assistant professor at the library school of the University of Illinois; Mrs. Frances Cheney, assistant professor at the library school of George Peabody School for Teachers; Dora Barker and Clyde Pettus of Emory university; Charlie Mae Rollins of the Chicago Public Library; and Eric Moore, director of the library school at North Carolina college, Durham.

Approximately fifty librarians from thirty-one Negro colleges and representatives for the ALA were in attendance at the meeting. Much of the discussion centered around the length of time that should be spent at the undergraduate level in library education.

■

ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE was represented at recent professional meetings by the following staff members: Mrs. Leola Whitted and Gwendolyn Saffold, at the IBM school in Atlanta; John Duncan, the workshop for deans and registrars at Howard; Mrs. Carrie Robinson and Frances Pollard, library conference at Atlanta; and President H. Council Trenholm, mid-century conference planning committee and the committee of lay organizations in behalf of federal aid to education.

■

Arvella Payne, associate professor

of education at the COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS, has been awarded the Ph.D. in economics by New York university. Dr. Payne holds a B. Ed. degree from Clark and an M.A. from New York university. Title of her thesis was "The Contributions of American Political Economists to the Developments of American political Philosophy."

The CEIA sponsored a vocational education conference in cooperation with the Dayton Urban League on the campus November 8-9. Anne Tanneyhill, director of vocational guidance of the National Urban League, was the principal speaker.

■

Dean William Russell Strassner was appointed acting president of SHAW UNIVERSITY at the 85th annual founder's day exercise on November 17. The appointment was announced by C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and chairman of the executive committee of the Shaw trustee board.

Dean Strassner had served as chairman of the interim administrative committee since February 1, 1950, at which time former President Robert P. Daniel assumed his duties as president of Virginia state college. He is a graduate, B.D., from Virginia Union university and has done graduate work at Andover Newton, from which he holds an M.S.T. degree, and at Union Theological Seminary and Teacher's College, New York City.

Annual founder's day address was delivered by Dr. Leary Perry, a Shaw graduate and a prominent physician of Fayetteville, N. C.

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PEGGY FLOWERS, *teacher of science and physical education in the South Bend, Ind., public schools.*

Thirteen Shaw students have been elected for inclusion in the current issue of "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities." The group includes nine seniors, three juniors, and one student in the school of religion.

A three-day period of services was conducted on the campus by Dr. Miles Mark Fisher in connection with the annual Shaw Baptist series.

■

The LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) chapter of the NAACP is continuing its fight initiated four years ago to secure equal rights in Pennsylvania. Although specific cases of discrimination because of race have been experienced by both students and faculty, the Chester county grand jury has so far refused to indict.

Lincoln has established America's first institute for the study of African

Wide World

ALBERTA MITCHELL, 17, *winner in the "Voice of Democracy" speaking contest in Georgia. She won over more than 1,000 high school students, both white and Negroe. As state winner she will compete in the national contest sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Broadcasters, and the Radio and Television Manufacturers Association.*

affairs, an organization similar to the well known Russian institutes at Columbia and Harvard. Purposes of the institute are to provide African students in the U. S. with opportunities for seeing the problems of Africa in perspective; to enlighten Americans who wish to play important roles in African affairs; and to help build a world united through mutual understanding between peoples and nations. Courses of study will include African history, political economy, art, religion, and African languages.

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Among the well-known experts and consultants in attendance at the conference on Africa held in connection with the opening were the following: H. A. Wieschoff, chief of the research and analysis division of trusteeship of UN; Gabriel Dennis, secretary of state, Liberia; M. H. El-Zayyat, cultural attaché, Egyptian embassy; Oscar Meier, U. S. State Department; William Leo Hansberry, of Howard; Dr. Albert C. Barnes, president of the Barnes Foundation; J. F. Cook, parliamentary undersecretary of state, England; Jan Goris, Belgian; and Nwankwo Chukwuemeka, Howard.

■

Librarian James O'Rourke of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE, addressed teachers' associations in conferences at Middlesboro and Campbellsville. He also attended the Atlanta university library conference November 9-11.

■

"What the United Nations Means to Me" has been chosen as subject of the sixth annual state-high-school-feature-writing contest conducted by the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) school of journalism. Prizes totaling $150 are open to all high-school students in Missouri.

President Sherman Scruggs has been elected second vice-president of the Missouri State Teachers Association. He is the first Negro to hold an administrative office of this rank in the Association, which abolished segregation two years ago.

Dean Scovel Richardson of the university law school is the first Missouri Negro to be admitted to membership in the American Bar Association.

MRS. FLOY JOHNSON, *teacher of music in the College of Education and Industrial Arts, Wilberforce, Ohio.*

Helen Phillips, soprano, opened the 1950-51 lecture-recital series on the campus on November 5. American education week was observed with a special assembly on November 9, with the principal address being given by Dr. H. P. Study, superintendent of schools, Springfield, Mo.

"Old Church—Mexico City," a water color painted by James D. Parks, head of the university art department, was one of the paintings selected by a jury to be shown in the 1950 Mid-America annual art exhibition held at the Rockhill Nelson Art Museum in Kansas City, Mo., November 5-28.

University enrollment passed the

1867 1951

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eight hundred mark during the first semester when it reached 823, of which 438 are men and 385 women. Of this number 638 are registered in the college of arts and sciences, 31 in the school of journalism, and 28 in law.

■

BENNETT COLLEGE student-teachers are experiencing for the first time this year a period of practice teaching that is taking them into seventeen out-of-town and six Greensbor-

(*Continued on page* 60)

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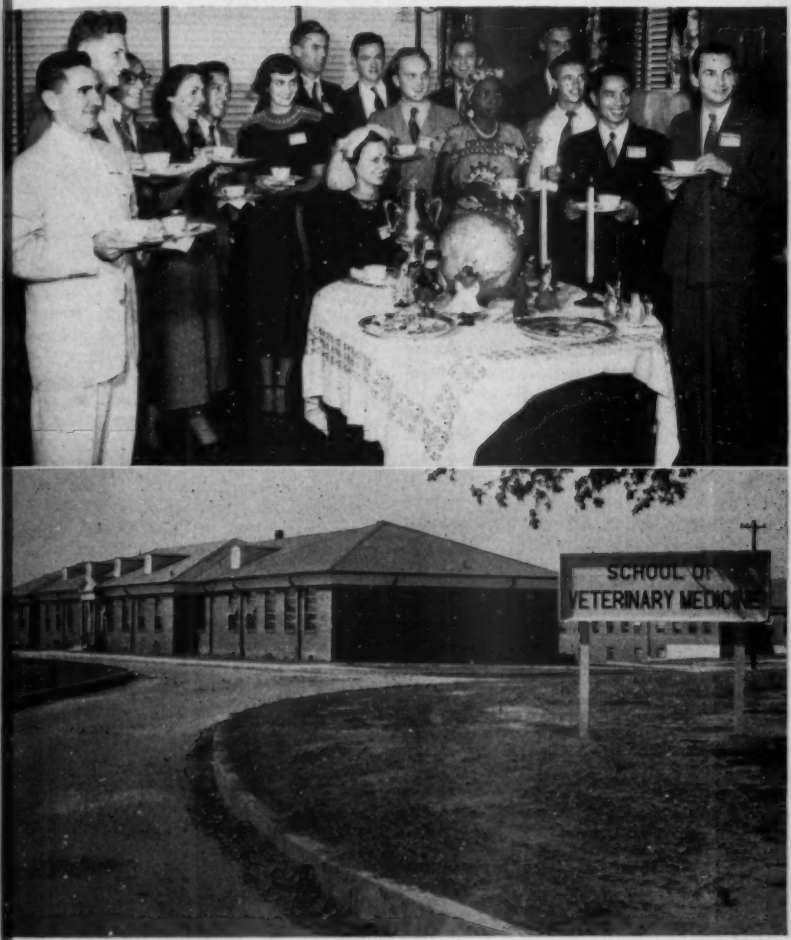

Schmitt—Stokes

A GET-ACQUAINTED TEA *for the largest class of foreign students ever to be enrolled at Evansville college, Ind., given in the home of President and Mrs. Lincoln Hale.* BOTTOM: *A view of the administration and clinical building of the Tuskegee Institute school of veterinary medicine, Tuskegee, Alabama.*

Book Reviews

SOUTHERN MORES

Reprisal. **By Arthur Gordon. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950. Pp. 310. $3.00.**

Actual lynchings, especially where innocent victims are involved, must tempt many a novelist as sources of highly dramatic material. And the actual Georgia lynching of four Negroes, two men and two women, when only one was accused of any crime, presented a particularly fascinating array of possibilities. Taking this lynching as his point of departure, the author has woven a taut story of what might have happened a year later, when Nathan Hamilton, the husband of one of the women, returns to take his revenge on three men who are obviously guilty.

These men have been tried for threatening and beating a Negro boy who has told law enforcement authorities of seeing three white men cleaning guns on the night of the lynching. Acquitted by the jury despite overwhelming evidence of their guilt, they drive through the Negro district, wrecking business establishments and breaking windows.

Meanwhile, the entire community is affected by the collective guilt complex. No one can be neutral, whether it is the judge, whose problems involved in publicly disapproving of the acquittal are never fully exploited; Unity Cantrell, who has little experience but a certain moral integrity; Melady, the Northern reporter, whose interest in the story is only that of getting news, but whose sense of fair play involves him further; Yancey Brown, undertaker and leading Negro citizen, friend of Nathan, and worker for improving Negro status (with necessary caution); Shep and Unity's sister Helen, who skirt the issue and try not to be involved in it; Bubber Aycock, a participant in the lynching, who has a Negro mistress but whose prejudices are not weakened thereby; Hester and John, whose physical defects have given them deep psychiatric problems; or the various other characters of both races.

Slickly written, *Reprisal* has drama, suspense, authenticity (with the below-noted exception), at least two love stories, and consistently rapid pace. Even the occasional discussions of race relations, centering chiefly around the Judge, Melady, Unity, and Yancey, are so interwoven with the story that they do not perceptibly slow it down. Oddly enough, Nathan Hamilton, who takes reprisal for the lynch-murder of his wife, is the least realized of all the important characters. The reader is far more concerned with seeing the sympathetic white characters work out their salvation than with his fate, beyond a mild, generalized wish to see injustice righted.

Perhaps this is because in the brief passages where Negro characters are portrayed, the author seems to have used his imagination rather than experience for his material, and the re-

sult yields a peculiar unreality for anyone acquainted with the situation. For example, the conversation between Yancey Brown and the Negro lawyer, Pope, who is obviously intended to represent a regional head of the NAACP in Atlanta, betrays complete unfamiliarity with the organization, ideas and working techniques of the Association. Moreover, the attitude of the southern Negro toward the national office is misunderstood and misinterpreted. There is a naive assumption that Negroes are organized as underground political movements are, with strategy planners prepared to move at any point. There is assumed a lack of understanding between southern and northern leaders which is not there, however different their respective strategies. It is incredible that Pope should say, as he does on page 154:

> Trouble is, people try to keep hurrying the tide. New York is the worst offender. Hurry, hurry. Magnify incidents. Put chips on shoulders. Step on toes. Demand complete justice, complete equality. Not later, Now...

This, however well it illustrates an attitude that the author apparently prefers, is the result of complete ignorance as to the relationship between northern and southern Negro leaders, who unite in aims but divide their responsibilities so as to put the more militant functions upon those who can more safely perform them (those in the North). This voluntary and strategic division of function can certainly not be said to indicate any such basic difference of opinion as would be suggested by the above quote.

Despite this shortcoming in the relatively brief passages dealing with Negro characters, *Reprisal* is, on the whole, honest and enlightening. At the same time, it is one of the most readable and gripping novels on race relations that has yet been published.

MABEL M. SMYTHE

SIMPLE SOULS

Jesuits for the Negro. **By Edward D. Reynolds. New York: The America Press, 1949. III+232, $2.50.**

Since Protestantism has come in for so much censure for its inconsistent preachment and practice as regards jim crow, the Catholic Church in America has taken on a new interest in the Negro, and this volume by Father Reynolds is an attempt to show what one Catholic order has done for them. Although it gives a brief survey of its services in Brazil, the Caribbean, and Africa, it is devoted largely to a description of its work in the United States. It consists merely of relating how missions were established, mainly in the South, and a few remarks on the establishment of schools.

Throughout the book one is impressed by the very little that the Jesuits have accomplished among American Negroes, but even from the scanty reporting here it is easy to see the reason for their lack of success. Here is a religion that professes to be the only true faith, that believes in the unity of individuals both high and low, yet its priests were slaveholders and abusers of those in bondage, and from the inception of its first mission on American soil it followed a practice of strict jim crow which has been adhered to religiously, even in northern cities such as Philadelphia, Omaha, Cincinnati, San Diego, Denver, and others. From the material here, the Jesuits adopted the patronizing air of condescension towards Negroes whom they looked upon as pious and simple souls to be "warned against sin, taught to pray, reminded to attend the Sacraments, encouraged to practice virtue." But nowhere is there mention where it became Jesuit policy to vigorously combat jim-crow legislation, to encourage Negroes to fight for civil rights, and to demand equality for them on all levels of American life. There is men-

tion of a few Jesuit Fathers who tried to take a democratic stand, mainly since World War II, but at least in one case (not reported in this book), that of Father George Dunne of California, who fought the un-American practices of the Ku Klux Klan. His forthright stand in behalf of Negroes earned him banishment to some isolated region in the Orient.

There are some statistics here of Negro enrollment in Jesuit schools and colleges, all of which do not admit Negroes. In 1947, there were only twenty Negro boys in a total of 23,494. A reason advanced to justify this un-Christian condition is "the character of Jesuit schools, which normally are classical and moderately scientific in their curricula and whose appeal to the colored is therefore limited"! The same picture prevails for higher institutions of learning, there being in 1947, only 436 Negro students out of 81,794 enrolled. Actually, the Catholic hierarchy has been so consistent in buttressing jim crow that it at one time had a segregated national order, the Federated Colored Catholics of the United States, since renamed the National Catholic Federation and now interracial in composition. There is no mention here, of course, of the jim-crow priest training school in Mississippi.

This is not a significant book. It is amateurishly compiled and the data support the contention that Catholicism in America, despite its recently belated efforts to do otherwise, has contributed greatly to the perpetuation of the un-American, un-Christian, and undemocratic pattern of segregation and discrimination in the United States. With the power that the Pope wields no one needs doubt that if he gave the order for his minions in America to stop practicing jim crow in their churches and schools, that he would not be obeyed. Thus, until this faith, like all others, begins to put into practice what it preaches, its priests of the Jesuit Society will never make any headway in getting converts among the thinking and intelligent Negroes of this country.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

COLLEGE NEWS

(*Continued from page* 56)

public schools. Unique feature of this training program is that the students will participate in the full activities of the schools from opening to closing time. After finishing their six-week teaching interneships, they will return to the campus for a three-week discussion of the teaching problems they encountered.

College celebration of the 1950 Yule season began with the traditional Christmas tableaux, "Living Madonnas," on December 10. A cast of sixteen depicted the madonnas of all nations, with musical background by the freshman choir.

■

Mayor Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland, Ohio, was awarded an honorary LL. D. at the university convocation of WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY. Other notables receiving honorary degrees were George Behner, personnel superintendent of the Bell Telephone Company, Cleveland, L.H.D.; Atty. A. L. Kearns, vice-president of the Cuyahoga Bar Association, LL. D.; and Rev. A. H. Jarman, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist church, Cleveland, D.D.

Mavis Garrison of Corona, N. Y., has been crowned "Miss Wilberforce" for the year 1950-51. An attractive senior student, Miss Garrison is a major in social administration.

Dr. William J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at FISK UNIVERSITY, has attended two recent conferences in connection with his work, the executive committee meeting of the National Association of College and University Chaplains in New York City, and the fifth national assembly of the United Council of Church Women in Cincinnati. At the New York meeting, Dr. Faulkner gave a series of talks on social and religious subjects. In Cleveland he conducted the daily morning worship services at the conference.

The Fisk library has put fifty deluxe artists editions of classics and near-classics on display in its second-floor foyer. Among the books are *Gulliver's Travels*, Walton's *Compleat Angler*, and Munchausen's *Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen*.

President Johnson announces the appointment of Mary Shane, assistant registrar, as acting dean of women to fill the post vacated by Mrs. Thelma Marshall, who is accepting a post with the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. Pearl Silvers, senior, was named by the President's state committee of Missouri to attend the Midcentury White House Conference on December 3. Her name was submitted to the committee by her former junior high school principal, Mrs. Winifred Brown of the James Milton Turner school in Kirkwood, Mo.

Other university announcements are the listing of thirteen Fisk seniors in the 1951 edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and College," the two-day concert of the Fisk Jubilee Singers at the fifth national assembly of the United Councils of Church Women in Cleveland, opening of the picture of the week series in the new university Van Vechten art gallery, and an exhibition of twenty-five crayon and charcoal portrait studies of "Indians and Mexicans of Oxaca" by Hester Merwin (Mrs. Edward Lindsley Ayers), a Bloomington, Indiana, artist.

VIRGINIA SCHOOLS

(*Continued from page* 11)

effects on Virginia politicians, too. They contributed substantially toward the passage of a piece of state legislation unprecedented in Virginia when the 1950 session of the state legislature voted a grant of $45 million to the schools for emergency construction. Other factors besides the suits led to this outright gift, as many legislators dubbed it. A long period of inactivity in school construction because of the depression and the war has left most of the school buildings in the state in a deplorable condition. Immediate relief of this situation was one of the newly-elected Governor John S. Battle's campaign promises. But legislators admit that the NAACP suits had a precipitating effect upon the General Assembly.

Local commentators were quick to point out how curious it was to find Senator Harry Flood Byrd's Virginia going in for the kind of "paternalism" the retrenching senator has criticized so scathingly on the Senate floor. Yet $45 million is not enough to improve Virginia's schools.

The General Assembly also passed a bill shifting $11 million from the state sinking fund to the literary fund, the general fund from which the localities may borrow money for school construction needs.

That is not enough either. According to estimates of the state's division superintendents, it would cost more than $400 million to bring the schools of Virginia, both white and Negro, up to the best national standards. No wonder that southern educators now turn, with touching wistfulness, to the halcyon days when the ideal school consisted of Mark Hopkins, the log, and the attentive pupil.

WASTED TALENT

I know of no comprehensive study showing the ways in which the South's inferior schools rob the region of the full development of its brains. If such a study is ever undertaken, I can easily suggest subject matter for it.

It should consider the familiar predicament of graduates from southern high schools who find themselves poorly equipped for study in northern colleges. It might also discuss the low quality of science education in southern public schools as evidenced by the poor showing southern students make in national science talent contests. Nor can such a study overlook what many southerners consider one of the scandals of the last war: the tendency for southern white inductees to score lower than northern Negroes on the Army general classification tests. And it should include such significant items as the recent test of entering students at Virginia State College which revealed a freshmen group with fifth-grade average reading ability and an average third-grade ability in mathematics.

But waste of talent does not stop with the pupils. Negro teachers and educators in the South lead a life of professional frustration. This is seen most poignantly, perhaps, in the field of school administration. When school boards hire Negro administrators, they generally hire people they can handle; men and women who will not be running to them all the time asking for additions or improvements to their schools. If a principal is a good administrator, he has to be a man of extraordinary fortitude to resist becoming apathetic in face of his board's indifference to betterment of his school. For Negro schools in the South are schools without hard and fast standards. Both accreditation by the state and even by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (the regional body that is supposed to see that southern secondary schools and colleges are good educational plants) becomes almost meaningless. Accreditation often means that a school has been "patched up" sufficiently to meet the bed-rock minimum requirements. It is seldom improved beyond that point.

"Every Negro principal knows," a former principal said, "that once his school is accredited, that's that. It'll never get off the accredited list no matter what. . . ."

This statement will not surprise most white southerners. Few of them would disagree with Dr. Douglass Southall Freeman, the Civil-War his-

torian and former editor of the Richmond *News-Leader*, who once observed editorially:

Do not mistake it: in employment, as in education, the entire South is retarded by its attitude toward the Negro. Raise Negro wages, improve Negro schools and you change the darkest scene in the southern picture.

INTEGRATION UNTHINKABLE

Southern school officials will admit that trying to maintain separate schools raises the costs of public education. But unsegregated education is unthinkable, regardless of the numerous absurdities that may crop up in the separate system. The thought of unsegregated schools haunts some white southern leaders like an ogre. Some, like T. Benton Gayle, superintendent of the King George county schools, forsee the ruination of public education in the South if the segregated school is abolished. "All the white people who could possibly afford to do so," he prophesies, "would send their children to private institutions." He forsees public schools patronized primarily by "poor-whites" and Negroes.

Even Delegate Armistead L. Boothe, the young Alexandria attorney who introduced the unsuccessful bill into the 1950 Assembly to abolish segregation on Virginia's common carriers, opines: "If segregation in the primary and high schools is declared unconstitutional in the near future, this declaration will be the keynote to tragedy. . . ." (*Virginia Law Review*, November, 1949).

Despite such predictions, it is possible to see the end of segregation in the South, if only because the South's survival depends upon the end of a system that denies the region the full use of its human resources.

Though the equalization suits cannot do much to prepare southern communities for an unsegregated society, Martin A. Martin believes the cases have some socially desirable results. By throwing white and Negro attorneys and educators together, he thinks the suits have given these white southerners a rare opportunity to learn what Negroes are thinking and feeling.

"When white school boards located white schools in the town, and Negro schools way back in the country," Martin explains, "they don't mean to discriminate. They just don't think about it."

The suits, at least, force their attention. For as ingrained as fear of the Negro is in many southerners, so is their indifference to the Negro. Discrimination, as Martin points out, has become habitual and automatic. Isolated in his section of a divided society, the average white southerner has almost no idea of how Negroes think and feel. Paralyzed by custom and fear, the simplest and most direct solution to many of his problems escape him the moment the question of race is involved.

Yet somehow, whether by the small prickings of school suits or the palpable burden on their pocketbooks, or by federal injunction, southerners are going to realize that a segregated school system in this day and age is an anachronism. They will find it impossible to continue living in a racially divided society. Integration is the first condition for the rehabilitation of the South.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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Telephone: CHerry 1-1835

Chester K. Gillespie
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TEXAS

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